2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts. The priestesses of these shrines are probably chosen entirely for their efficiency, and we had full opportunity to note the excellent manners and forcible character of our friend Aker.

The clans Golobogu and Pameiti are closely associated with the upkeep of the Fenikang shrine, indeed the Golobogu clan, and probably to a lesser extent the Pameiti, act as caretakers of the shrine and when sexually pure can enter it freely. Children of these clans before the age of puberty and men in a state of chastity may enter the shrine, but if a man should do so after sleeping with a woman he would die. A married man whose wife is pregnant will in all probability be living chastely, and such men were seen entering the shrine without comment being made by the villagers. The chief (*jago*) of the local group of clan Golobogu always kills any beast that may be sacrificed at the shrine. Aker said that this man, one Ayurial, had instructed her in her duties as priestess of the shrine; it was, however, evident that Aker was of more importance than Ayurial, though how much this may have been due to force of character could not be determined.

The different functions of the huts constituting the shrine further indicate that the pattern of the original shrine was a homestead and that the shrine itself is the homestead of Nyakang. The information we give concerning the huts composing the shrine—each having its own name—is in part the result of our inquiries at Fenikang in part additional information provided by Mr. Heasty.

The names of the huts are: Nyikayo, Kwayo or Duwad, Wed Mac, Dag or Kwayo,[1] Duwol.

Nyikayo was the hut in which lived the mother of Nyakang; here millet was said to be stored.

Duwad was the name of the hut in Nyakang's homestead in which Nyakang used to sleep; whence the name Kwayo, the word used of royalty for "sleep" (other folk *nin*). This is the most sacred hut of the shrine, shown on Pl. VIII with the horns of sacrificed beasts in the ground before its door. In it are kept the former possessions of Nyakang, his stool—alleged to be of metal with "eyes", i.e. probably having its seat sprouted as a leopard-skin—his drum, and his lyre (*akaw*) said to have a metal body. Beside these are eight

[1] The reason for two of the huts having the same name is that, as will be seen immediately, both were sleeping places. Alternate names at Fenikang for Nyikayo and Wed Mac were Nagwo and Kajo respectively.

5:Lienhardt E-4 (no date) 1954 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

mischievous and aggressive, but also a trickster who (vainly) attempts to deceive his father for his own advantage.[1] Westermann[2] quotes a text in which Nyikang commends a liar (perhaps a licensed jester), and another in which it is made clear that it was Dak's cunning which resulted in the catching of one of the creatures, described as a *juok*, with which the Shilluk kingdom was originally built up. The traditions of the Shilluk kings recorded by Hofmayr give details of their duplicity and cunning, their military prowess, and their cruelty and caprice. In this way they are approximated to God for these, and particularly intelligence and knowledge, are qualities by which a man manifests the power of God in him. The very nature of the election to the Shilluk kingship gives an advantage to the clever, as well as to the ruthless and brave, and the office must constantly have offered opportunities for intrigue and homicide. These features of 'divine kingship' tend to be somewhat elided in European accounts of the sacred character of the office, but some of the interest of the Shilluk kingship lies in the fact that the sort of sacredness it represents is little associated with an ethical code. Nyikang and the kings, along with God, are nevertheless for the Shilluk the sanctions for the customary rules and norms of behaviour. Thus the sanction for the customary moral order of Shilluk society is not conceived primarily in ethical terms, but as a manifestation of successful power and intelligence. So the test of kingship is success in the widest sense, and an unsuccessful king is soon killed by his rivals or deposed of by his retainers.[3]

Social Values: Cleverness and Success

That intelligence and success are attributed to the favour of God may be seen in other ways. Spirits, or those who are divinely inspired, are shown in Shilluk stories to be both clever and successful. They know more than others, and they can turn this knowledge to their own advantage. The Shilluk *ajuogo* (diviners), whose power is said to come from *juok*, are such people, and Oyler says of them that 'the Shilluks think of the witch-doctors or medicine men as good, not because their lives are good, nor yet because their practice is good, but because they are looked upon as the channels through which occult powers may be transmitted to men'.[4] They are personally prosperous because they are necessary, and they are necessary because they know better than ordinary men how to achieve success; such a divinely inspired person may therefore be approached for help in stealing

[1] Hofmayr, 1925, p. 61. [2] 1912, p. 166.

[3] I have deliberately omitted any discussion of the killing of the Shilluk king, which by some authorities is said to be a ritual putting to death when the king's powers fail. The evidence for this is very confusing; in the records of the kings given by Hofmayr (1925), some clearly have died or been killed without ceremonial. It is difficult to reconcile this with the suggestion made by some authorities that the killing of the king is a ritual act performed to maintain the fertility and vitality of the land, cattle, and people, and that the ceremonial killing is believed to be essential for this, though misfortune for the whole land may later be attributed to some inadequacy in the funeral rites.

[4] Oyler, 1920.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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643 elect a *reth* without help from government, but in the event no difficulties arose.

643 Within a week of the passing of the *reth* the members of the electoral college had met at Fashoda, and many other influential 666 chiefs and notables had gathered there as well. An unanimous choice of Anei son of Kur, the favourite of Fafiti, was made, and there seemed to be little discussion and no opposition from outside the electoral college.[11]

631 Several interesting points in connexion with the actual election 643 procedure were noticeable. The electors divided into three groups, Gol Nyikang (southern Shilluk) under the chief of Kwom, Gol Dhiang 666 (northern Shilluk) under the chief of Golbainy, and the Kwareth under the chief of Fadhiang. Agreement was first reached between the chief of Kwom and the chief of Golbainy upon Anei as *reth*, and when this agreement was announced to the other electors they seem to have agreed to it without much further discussion. This is an interesting [156] fact, and one which is not in accord with normal Shilluk practice, where a man with decided opinions upon anything is seldom overawed by time or place in expressing them. The Colo chiefs seem to have lined up behind their respective leaders, the chiefs of Gol Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, and as the choice lay in the first place with Colo, the chief of Fadhiang, on behalf of the Kwareth, had nothing to add.

It was explained to us that the whole thing hinged upon agreement of the chief of Gol Nyikang and the chief of Gol Dhiang. Had they disagreed, their respective chiefs would have ranged themselves in opposing camps. What the Kwareth would have done is difficult to say. They said they would have followed the chief of Gol Dhiang, maybe because Fadhiang is part of Gol Dhiang but many, if not most Kwareth live in Gol Nyikang. On several past occasions when a 631 *reth* has been elected there has been disagreement between Gol 643 Nyikang and Gol Dhiang, presumably because the two chiefs failed 666 to reach agreement. It was the disagreement between these two 669 which produced civil war between the two halves of the country, or

11. The "intervening" of one of the sons of reth Fadhiat never amounted to opposition.

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

A. — PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The previous Ret Fadiet wad Kwadker died on February 20th, 1917. At his death there were various possible candidates for the Retship of whom however only two were of real interest: Shoti wad Ajang who owing to intrigue took up the attitude of claiming the Retship, and Fafiti wad Yor whose claim, upheld for him by certain chiefs, was supported by Government. Shoti's position was much weakened by two factors: a) by his presumptuous attitude which was contrary to all decent Shilluk tradition, which even considers it correct for the Ret to disappear from his house on hearing of his probable selection, and b) by the fact that his father Ajang was never legitimate Ret, having never entered Fashoda, but having been allowed to usurp the position, when the Mudir of Fashoda imprisoned the real Ret Kwadker. (N. B. The Shilluk rule of Retship makes it essential for the new Ret to be the son of a previous legitimate Ret, thus Shoti did not have the proper qualification.) Fafiti wad Yor, the most suitable member of the house, whose turn it was to have the Retship, was therefore selected for the honour. As was customary a period of interregnum ensued, during which time, although the Ret-to-be utters judgements, he is merely voicing the matured opinions of a Council of elders. It was stated to me that this interregnum always continued till after new dura had been sown and was ready to harvest. The general expectation was that the installation would not occur till February, but Fafiti himself wished to have it completed at the first opportunity. This was most natural in view of the fact that there is no real recognition of the Ret as legitimate until after the actual installation and in consequence it is a period of grave insecurity. Fafiti therefore sent messengers to the village of Akurwa to ask if all things were ready for the bringing of Nyakang[1] to the ceremony. A short delay occurred owing to the people of Akurwa having to collect many ostrich feathers and also sandarach for the creation of the bodily appearance of Nyakang (Tradition states that they obtain them from south of Jebelein and that

[1] Nyakang. The semi divine hero and first king of the Shilluk race. Cf. Seligman, p. 216. During the ceremony he is represented by a tall cylindrical body probably made of sandarach, covered with light blue cloth, and with a roundish mass of ostrich feathers as a head.